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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 14 October 1992, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. GANEV	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. KALPAGE (Vice-President)	(Sri Lanka)
later:	Mr. GANEV (President)	(Bulgaria)

- Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization: Reports of the Secretary-General [10] (continued)

- Social Development: (a) Questions relating to the world social situation and to youth, ageing, disabled persons and the family [93] (continued)

  Commemoration to mark the conclusion of the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons: draft resolution

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The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 10 (continued)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/1, A/47/277)

Mr. SHKURTI (Albania): Allow me, Sir, to express from this rostrum my condolences and those of my Government and people to the Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt over the victims of the recent earthquake in that country.

The subject we are discussing today has rallied remarkable support and stirred vivid expressions of opinion among us all. I congratulate the Secretary-General on the timely presentation of this subject and the adroit composition of the report.

"An Agenda for Peace" consists of a set of ideas that some peoples of the world have been crying out for through anguish and death. If translated into quick action, those ideas will undoubtedly and inevitably do much to alleviate pain and restore confidence and peace where these are lacking.

My delegation will concentrate on the unique role that preventive diplomacy can play in potential hotbeds of tension and conflict, which, to our deepest regret, exist world wide. My delegation has insisted on this idea for quite some time in various international organizations, including the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Because we are living in a situation of insecurity; because our borders are threatened by the nearness of the conflict in former Yugoslavia and the imminence of its spilling over into Kosovo; because Albania emerged from Communism weak, and seeks integration and protection - these are among the reasons why we have accentuated the idea of preventive diplomacy. Ours is a concrete need. As such, it is also well targeted.

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

The conflict that is wreaking havoc upon Bosnia and Herzegovina has demonstrated that aggressive nationalism left unattended can lead to extermination and other disastrous consequences. The world has understood that the wounds of such a cruel war take a very long time to heal. The Albanian delegation remembers the pathetic appeals of the Bosnian authorities long before the conflict broke out. What then seemed impossible has today entered our very homes.

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

Projecting well into the future, "An Agenda for Peace" elaborates a myriad of means to be used as preventive measures in likely zones of conflict. Among them, early warning - that is, the detection of symptoms that could easily lead from tensions to open hostilities - should occupy a pre-eminent position in the structural hierarchy of conflict-prevention techniques. Early warning could be realized in a number of ways, including, inter alia, the solicitation of views of different sections of the population in an area that is already volatile, through contacts with their representatives; meetings with various non-governmental organizations at United Nations Headquarters or elsewhere; the sending of respected political personalities to obtain information, with a rapid system of reporting and suggestion of relevant further action to be taken; and the sending of fact-finding missions upon request or upon the suggestion of the special envoy, and so on.

Something along those lines has already started. Diplomacy has taken a number of forms in the territories of the former Yugoslavia and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. However, only now is diplomacy being timed to precede tension that could lead to armed conflict. My delegation believes that there are people in many places that hope to find solutions to their grievances in the contents of this precious report. One of these places is Kosovo.

Albania has spoken many a time on Kosovo and the danger of spillover of the military conflict now going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The situation there is a very dangerous one, a political confrontation stemming from the impossibility of further coexistence with the occupier, a peaceful revolt against tendencies and practices of a "Greater Serbia". The Albanians,

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

constituting over 90 per cent of the population of Kosovo, have resorted to a peaceful pursuit of their aims. The response has been further repression, with which international opinion is very familiar today.

Many organizations have already been seized of this situation. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has sent a number of rapporteur and fact-finding missions. Their conclusions have been synthesized in the Helsinki Summit Declaration on Yugoslavia, which has outlined the necessity of initiating a dialogue between the representatives of the Albanians and the Belgrade authorities, in the presence of a third party. The London Conference has taken it upon itself to find a comprehensive solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, including the plight of Kosovo. Cooperation between the United Nations and the European Community, as co-chairmen of the London Conference, on the one hand, and the CSCE, on the other hand, has provided beginnings of preventive measures in Kosovo. Albania is highly appreciative of the role played by the Secretary-General himself, as well as his envoys, in this regard.

Nevertheless, the situation on the ground is worsening by the day and needs urgent action. The Albanian delegation, fully appreciative of the thrust and modalities of the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace," is of the opinion that his preventive approaches, as outlined in this work, can successfully address the Kosovo issue. The long-term CSCE missions that are already there, and which might rightly come under the heading of preventive deployment, will provide information on the development of the situation and suggest measures to be taken. The men on the ground will need to offer their good offices as well to help keep an already deteriorating situation under control. Presence itself means a lot.

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

Furthermore, in light of abhorrent Serbian behaviour elsewhere in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the United Nations must see the need to eliminate the military potential deployed in Kosovo and to demilitarize it. That would be a most significant sign to the population and a prerequisite for setting dialogue on the right unconditional path.

Kosovo has turned towards the international community for help. "An Agenda for Peace" is a most welcome work. Its rapid translation into action will spare the world further shocking scenes. Time flies by. Bosnia has told us that we must not be caught unawares. Only through vigorous efforts can this body preserve its image as the guarantor of peace and security. Where peace is fragile, the international community must strive to strengthen it.

Mr. KOUYATE (Guinea) (interpretation from French): Three days ago, we learned with stupefaction about the earthquake in Egypt. Under these painful circumstances, I should like to express to the delegation, Government and people of Egypt the profound condolences of the delegation, Government and people of Guinea. I wish to let the families who have been sorely tried know that we stand in solidarity with them in their pain and that we offer our compassion.

I should like first of all to express my delegation's keen congratulations to the Secretary-General for the depth of his thinking and for the clarity and quality of his report.

We all welcome the end of the cold war, which for a long time hovered over the world and humanity as a spectre of the apocalypse. Still, new forms of tension have appeared in many countries, thus endangering equilibrium and peace in the world. Faced with these new challenges, the international community must intensify its efforts in order to ensure the fundamental goals

(Mr. Kouyate, Guinea)

of the Charter of our universal Organization: the maintenance of international peace and security.

It is in this sense that my delegation welcomes the excellent report of the Secretary-General dealing with preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping.

The establishment of collective security is, without any doubt, what all people aspire to.

"An Agenda for Peace" is something quite original. It reflects the promising changes which are now imprinting a new dynamism upon our Organization and thus upon international relations.

Preventing conflicts, peacemaking and peace-keeping are the essential points upon which "An Agenda for Peace" rests. Reading this important document makes quite clear the unquestionable will to greater mastery over the fate of mankind. Its implementation is possible if we combine will with moderation.

As indicated in the report, the sovereignty of States Members of the United Nations is an incontrovertible provision of its Charter. None the less, there can be no doubt that respect for sovereignty sometimes makes it extremely difficult to carry out peacemaking and peace-keeping. We must not hide this contradiction. For that reason, we must find an optimum balance between the sovereignty of States and the possibilities for intervention by the international community, both in conflict prevention and in peacemaking and peace-keeping.

(Mr. Kouyate, Guinea)

Article 35 of the Charter in fact offers us such a possibility. It gives every Member State the opportunity to appeal to the United Nations for help in finding a solution to conflicts or tensions.

Preventive machinery will determine the success of our ambitions.

"An Agenda for Peace" describes some of these mechanisms, such as: an early warning system based on the collection of information and on formal or informal fact-finding procedures; preventive deployment; the establishment of demilitarized zones, and the easing of financing procedures.

Implementing these mechanisms requires not only the full cooperation of States but also impartiality and quick action on the part of the organs of the United Nations entrusted, inter alia, with gathering reliable information. To this information given to the Secretary-General by the Governments of Member States, as provided for in paragraph 25 of the Agenda, must be added an independent mechanism for gathering information originating from United Nations organs and regional and subregional organizations.

Extra-governmental information sources may vary, depending on the type of tensions. The Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, as the Secretary-General wishes, should provide information as a preventive measure, particularly in the case of alarming military or economic and social situations. Better still, these organs should draw up an annual report on what might be called "the state of the world". That report would make clear where the zones of tension are and which zones require greater attention to prevent conflict and to consolidate peace.

Another source of conflict is inter-ethnic tension, which has endangered national unity in many Member States. This is a delicate subject and one

(Mr. Kouyate, Guinea)

which jeopardizes the domestic social and political balance of States. Ethnic conflicts sometimes originate in past history, but very often in the dysfunctioning of political institutions through violations of democratic principles and human rights. In this regard ethnic minorities must participate just as much as the majority in national life. The problem is not one of being a minority but of being marginalized.

Faced with such delicate subjects, the Secretariat of the United Nations must ensure that it has a counselling role wherever it is necessary and useful. Governments must be open to such advice and that advice must be free of any type of pressure.

The greatest prevention must have to do with correcting the economic disparities that characterize the world. To the degree that the duality of unequal development has obstructed, and continues to obstruct, social peace in many countries, to that degree the gap between North and South is already threatening the balance which we wish to find in the world. Man has found the strength, the imagination and the courage to take up many of the challenges that nature has imposed upon him. Man can also, in a show of solidarity, find the imagination and the strength to conquer underdevelopment. Balance in our world depends on it. The maintenance of peace is the price we must pay for it.

Mr. POSSO SERRANO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, before entering into the substance of my statement, may I say how pleased Ecuador is to see you presiding over the work of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

It is also my duty to convey the deep sorrow felt by my Government and people at the serious loss of life and property resulting from the earthquake in Egypt.

(Mr. Posso Serrano, Ecuador)

On the item relating to the Secretary-General's report entitled, "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), the Ecuadorian delegation completely supports the statement of the Permanent Representative of Argentina, on behalf of the Rio Group, a mechanism for political harmonization, of which Ecuador is a member.

Nevertheless, and even at the risk of repeating some shared positions, the Ecuadorian delegation would like to recall the genesis of the said report, by way of explaining this additional statement that Ecuador is making. Ecuador is a member of the Security Council and therefore had the opportunity to participate, through the then President of the Republic, Mr. Rodrigo Borja, in the Summit Meeting of 31 January 1992, at which the Heads of State or Government invited the Secretary-General to prepare the report that is before us today, recommending concrete measures and actions for strengthening and making more efficient the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping.

The request of the Heads of State or Government to the Secretary-General was very broad in nature. He was asked to suggest actions and measures for strengthening the United Nations as a system rather than any given organ of the United Nations in particular. This is why the Secretary-General addresses his report to all the Members of the United Nations, so that they may be able to decide on appropriate measures for obtaining the objectives. These measures, of course, will have to be determined through proper mechanisms within the competent organs and in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Charter.

(Mr. Posso Serrano, Ecuador)

The initiative of the 15 Heads of State or Government that held the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, by means of and on the basis of the Secretary-General's report, involves Member States - all Member States - because it is they that have the responsibility for strengthening and renewing the United Nations system, as is stated with unquestionable clarity by the Secretary-General:

"The foundation-stone of this work is and must remain the State."

(A/47/277, para. 17)

The General Assembly is the organ that democratically represents all the Members of the United Nations.

The winds of necessary renewal and all of the imperatives involved in strengthening the United Nations must not violate the sovereignty and integrity of States. Only on the basis of that respect is it possible to move forward with the task set before us in the Secretary-General's report, since it is not feasible to establish the new international order on the basis of national weaknesses or systematic violations. This does not by any means imply that we would advocate or tolerate the use of concepts of sovereignty and integrity in order to justify gross non-compliance with international commitments or flagrant violations of the law of nations.

Both the actions proposed by the Secretary-General for immediate implementation and those actions that would relate to innovations - the innovations that many of his suggestions presuppose - would have to be carried out subject to the fundamental purposes and principles of international law. The Ecuadorian delegation is fully aware that international law is in a state of constant evolution, but it is our understanding that such evolution implies

(Mr. Posso Serrano, Ecuador)

improvement of the institutions and of the rules of procedure, and in no way implies retroggression.

Therefore, the urgent need to "press forward" should impel the international community, in an organized way, to re-examine the ways and means that it has been using, with greater or lesser efficiency, to accomplish the tasks imposed by the needs of the international community itself, in keeping with its potential for concerted action.

The end of the so-called cold war has opened up incalculable new possibilities for concerted action, and the needs of the international community at present go beyond the most optimistic predictions of the founders of our Organization, and even exceed the predictions that we ourselves made just three years ago.

(Mr. Posso Serrano, Ecuador)

The imperatives of the new world order that we are trying to usher in show the clear need to reshape mechanisms and procedures. The universality achieved by the Organization seems to clash with the maintenance of closed and selective structures and with procedural safeguards established to deal with situations that now, fortunately, are a thing of the past.

The continued very small membership of the Security Council contrasts with the growing number of Members of the United Nations that have the right and the aspiration to participate in the Council's deliberations. The maintenance of the five permanent members' veto power could result in the imposition of a given view and even in the Council's taking positions contrary to those of the overwhelming majority of countries. The veto has ceased to be an instrument that ensures political balance in our Organization.

The well-founded expectations that today's United Nations has aroused cannot centre on the carrying out of action decreed by an executive body that is small in numbers, but, following the interests of its permanent members, absorbs more tasks, justifying its effectiveness in its present form.

All the principal organs of the United Nations will have to shoulder new responsibilities. For this to be done efficiently they will have to be regenerated, or the international community will be obliged to replace them with new ones that are effective, suitable and efficient. The Economic and Social Council must, without delay, be given new directions, as must its subsidiary bodies. The General Assembly adheres to a procedure that often encourages merely formal and excessively repetitive activities.

In conclusion, the delegation of Ecuador would like to state that the task of strengthening and renewing the United Nations system is complex and

(Mr. Posso Serrano, Ecuador)

multifaceted. The Secretary-General in his report suggests many measures to carry out that task. Others are obvious, and the urgent need for them is clear. A number of them, whether or not recognized by the Secretary-General, will have to be given profound thought so that we may avoid diverting ourselves from our shared purposes and objectives, which inspire us all, and instead may achieve a United Nations that is more capable and more efficient and attains its noble objectives on the basis of universal consideration and with respect for the identity of each of its Members. For this task it would be very useful to establish a working group, as the Rio Group suggested in the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Argentina on 9 October.

Mr. LAVROV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): I should like, first, to join in the expressions of sympathy to the Egyptian delegation in connection with the earthquake that occurred in its country and the losses resulting from that natural disaster.

Our delegation shares with other delegations that have spoken here a high opinion of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/47/1) and his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277).

The report on the work of the Organization, based on a thorough analysis of the present stage of international development, contains a number of practical recommendations for the world community's approaches to many critical problems - both chronic problems and those that it has encountered in this new era.

We agree with one of the main conclusions of the report, namely, that the challenges to the Organization are comprehensive: to become an effective collective instrument of peace and security, to foster responsible relations

(Mr. Lavrov, Russian Federation)

within the community of States, to achieve international cooperation in the solution of economic, social, intellectual, ecological and humanitarian problems. The main criterion for the development of approaches to dealing with all those challenges should be the safeguarding of human rights and the rights of minorities everywhere.

With regard to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, we see special value in the fact that it is the natural continuation of the conceptual and practical proposals contained in his earlier report "An Agenda for Peace". Russia views those interrelated documents as an invitation to the Members of the United Nations to make a contribution to defining an agenda that will provide an adequate response to the challenges of international security. We regard as one of the important features of "An Agenda for Peace" the fact that its bold proposals are based on the solid legal foundation of the Charter of the United Nations. Once again the Charter has proved its tremendous potential.

"An Agenda for Peace" reflects all that is valuable and useful in the activities of United Nations bodies over almost half a century, and it identifies definite avenues for the future development of peacemaking and for strengthening the Organization and its Security Council as a citadel of predictability, trust, security and stability in the world. It is our view that many of the Secretary-General's proposals have matured sufficiently to be translated into practical ideas and recommendations for coordinated collective action. Many delegations have already put forward numerous ideas on this subject. As a follow-up to that discussion, we should like to share some further thoughts with Members.

(Mr. Lavrov, Russian Federation)

Russia supports the recommendation, contained in the Secretary-General's report to make more frequent use of fact-finding missions in order to gather objective and reliable information necessary for effective measures and to submit it to the main organs of the United Nations, primarily the Security Council. We note the indisputable timeliness of the proposal that a strengthened and restructured Economic and Social Council should submit reports, in accordance with Article 65 of the Charter, on economic and social developments which, if not addressed, may threaten international peace and security.

The report mentions the interesting idea of preventive deployment of United Nations forces, in particular for the purpose of averting the possibility of combat between neighbouring countries, giving warning of any cross-border attack or restraining the parties to a conflict. In our view, it would be useful to consider demilitarized zones as a means of preventive deployment, as well as disengagement zones, humanitarian corridors, zones of tranquillity, and means of ensuring their status as such.

The question of the effective use of United Nations forces to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance and to deal with gross violations of human rights, especially the rights of minorities, deserves special attention, as is evidenced by the tragic events in Somalia and in former Yugoslavia.

Russia supports the proposal for making full use of the judicial and advisory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. We consider it desirable that the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations should, with a view to working out generally acceptable agreements, examine specific proposals, including those on giving the Secretary-General authority

(Mr. Lavrov, Russian Federation)

to request advisory opinions of the Court and on having the jurisdiction of the Court recognized as mandatory by the year 2000.

Of key importance in this context is the Secretary-General's idea concerning a more active involvement of regional organizations in peace-keeping and peacemaking activities and concerning the enhancement of those organizations' role in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, while preserving the primary responsibility of the Security Council in such matters. Regional organizations can and should make a more substantial contribution to preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping, help to defuse ethnic and religious conflicts and respond to environmental and humanitarian emergencies.

Experience of the interaction of regional organizations with the United Nations is gradually being built up - not without difficulty - in Europe, Africa and a number of other regions. Russia consistently promotes the peacemaking standards of the United Nations and, together with its neighbours, is striving to settle the conflicts in the territory of the former USSR. In developing their own peace-keeping mechanism for the Commonwealth of Independent States, the countries of the Commonwealth have borrowed many ideas from the peacemaking expertise of the United Nations.

The Secretary-General's proposal with respect to the previously unimplemented provisions of Articles 42 and 43 of the Charter concerning enforcement action by the Security Council and the creation of United Nations armed forces on a temporary or permanent basis, as well as the associated revitalization of the Military Staff Committee, is inspired by a desire to strengthen the capabilities and the prestige of the United Nations.

(Mr. Lavrov, Russian Federation)

In this connection, the idea relating to the creation, on a case-by-case basis and with the authorization of the Security Council, of peace-enforcement units that could go promptly into action in crisis areas merits further consideration.

I wish to inform Members that a draft law concerning the participation of Russian contingents in international peace-keeping operations conducted under the auspices of the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Commonwealth of Independent States, including operations that could be conducted in accordance with Articles 42 and 43 of the Charter of the United Nations has been introduced in the Russian Parliament.

The Secretary-General's remarks on the need to ensure the safety of United Nations personnel, to provide reliable protection for the lives and health of international civil servants and to take resolute measures against those who endanger United Nations personnel are exceptionally timely. Those proposals will, I am sure, be thoroughly and comprehensively discussed in the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly and in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations with a view to their subsequent incorporation into United Nations peacemaking practices. It is our conviction, however, that the General Assembly should, even at this session, firmly state that provocations against United Nations personnel cannot be tolerated.

The Secretary-General has presented a wide array of ideas on ways to improve the conduct of United Nations peace-keeping operations, on the training and the participation in such operations of military and civilian personnel and on the logistics and financing of peace-keeping operations. A

(Mr. Lavrov, Russian Federation)

number of those ideas are already being explored during discussions at this session. Some of the others obviously merit further study. Particular attention should be paid to the problems relating to the financing of peace-keeping operations. There are possibilities for the more active involvement of regional organizations in such financing, in addition to States Members of the United Nations, and for voluntary contributions, including some from private corporations which would benefit substantially from the settlement of conflicts and the restoration of normal trade and economic flows. The scale of assessed contributions for peace-keeping operations also needs to be improved.

The Russian Federation welcomes the concept of post-conflict peace-building proposed by the Secretary-General. That concept is a logical extension of United Nations activities in the areas of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping and an integral part of the system of collective security provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

Of course the list of peace-enhancing activities contained in the report is not exhaustive; the activities may vary and be supplemented by new ones, depending on the specific circumstances. In this connection, we proceed from the assumption that the concept of peace enhancement should not only provide for the creation and development of new forms of comprehensive cooperation but also be based on the specific commitments of States and on real and effective international guarantees and adequate verification mechanisms.

The recommendations and proposals of the Secretary-General contained in his two reports have won widespread approval and support from States Members

(Mr. Lavrov, Russian Federation)

of the United Nations. For its part, Russia will cooperate with all States in making the United Nations more effective and transforming it into a truly functional political instrument for maintaining reliable security and stability in the world.

Mr. CHEW (Singapore): First allow me to extend my delegation's sympathy and condolences to the victims of the earthquake in Egypt.

"An Agenda for Peace" is undoubtedly the single most important report before the General Assembly at this session. It presents a vision for the United Nations in the post-cold-war world. I also welcome the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. Both documents provide a framework for the reform and revitalization of the United Nations. They should be thoroughly examined by the entire membership of the United Nations as represented here in the General Assembly.

The Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization that there is now

> "... a new stirring of hope among the nations of the world and a recognition that an immense opportunity is here to be seized." (A/47/1, para. 4).

This immense opportunity must be seized if the United Nations is to play a central role in international peace and security in this period after the cold war when the world is searching for a new equilibrium. During this period of transition there is great potential for instability. We are already witnessing some of the symptoms of such instability and disequilibrium in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia, to mention just two examples. In Singapore's view, the Agenda for Peace provides the United Nations with the framework for playing a central role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

Preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building have to be viewed as one continuing process. It is important to bear this point in mind during this general debate because in reality conflict resolution requires a holistic approach. Therefore the capacity of the United Nations cannot be strengthened in one area and neglected in another.

Preventive diplomacy is not a new concept. It is the guiding spirit behind the United Nations Charter. The preamble to the Charter begins by expressing the determination to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The Secretary-General rightly emphasized in his Agenda for Peace that preventive diplomacy is the "most desirable and efficient employment of diplomacy" (A/47/277, para.23). Preventive diplomacy is not only cost-effective, it also avoids the senseless death and destruction that inevitably result from conflict. My delegation strongly supports the position that preventive diplomacy must become the central focus of the United Nations in the post-cold-war order.

The Secretary-General has a crucial role to play in preventive diplomacy. We support a strong role for the Secretary-General in preventive diplomacy under Article 99 of the Charter. This Article clearly gives the Secretary-General the responsibility to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which may threaten international peace and security. The Secretary-General's good offices are also very important assets to both preventive diplomacy and peacemaking. The Secretary-General should make full use of his independent and neutral position to mediate in disputes and negotiate an agreement.

Fact-finding and early warning are also important elements of preventive diplomacy. The key here is timely and accurate information. In this respect

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

we welcome the Security Council's decision to send fact-finding missions to Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh, Tajikistan and Georgia.

The Secretary-General has also proposed preventive deployment and demilitarized zones. These are imaginative proposals that could be useful on a case-by-case basis. The proposals will need careful study. My delegation would like to emphasize that the fundamental rights and sovereignty of Member States must be respected. The consent of the parties concerned is absolutely essential for any form of United Nations deployment. This is important not only from the point of view of sovereignty but also to obtain the cooperation of the parties concerned. In this respect, the Secretary-General's position that

> "respect for ... fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress" (A/47/277, para. 17)

should be the underlying guiding consideration for these proposals.

Peacemaking is an integral follow-up to preventive diplomacy. The Agenda for Peace defines it as action "to bring hostile parties to agreement by peaceful means" (A/47/277, para. 34). Indeed, peacemaking, defined as the pacific settlement of disputes, is one of the basic objectives of the United Nations Charter. The capacity of the United Nations for the pacific settlement of disputes should be strengthened.

We support an enhanced role for the Security Council in the pacific settlement of disputes. Article 24 of the Charter accords the Security Council "primary responsibility" for the maintenance of peace and security.

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

My delegation welcomes the role of the Security Council in Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, El Salvador and Cambodia. We agree with the Secretary-General's observation that the Security Council, with greater unity, has acquired more leverage in leading hostile parties to negotiations. We also endorse his urging that the Security Council take full advantage of the provisions of the Charter under which it may recommend appropriate procedures for dispute settlement.

As a universal body, the General Assembly has a complementary role to that of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. It provides the moral backing for the actions of the Security Council in cases where the principles of the Charter have been violated. A case in point is the role played by the General Assembly in condemning the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing". In this respect, my delegation fully endorses the call by the Secretary-General to promote the greater utilization of the General Assembly in the resolution of international disputes.

Similarly, the International Court of Justice has an important contribution to make to peacemaking. As the Secretary-General states in "An Agenda for Peace", the Court is an under-used resource for the peaceful adjudication of disputes. The Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General himself should make greater use of the advisory opinion of the Court. All Member States should also aim to accept the general jurisdiction of the Court. In this connection, the Trust Fund of the International Court of Justice, which was established to assist countries to cover the legal costs of seeking the Court's adjudication, should be supported. We call on all countries to contribute to the Court's Trust Fund.

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

Under peacemaking, the Secretary-General raises the question of the use of military force. We agree with his view that the option of undertaking military action under Article 42 of the Charter is essential to the credibility of the United Nations as a guarantor of international security. However, it must also be stressed that the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, must apply the principles of the Charter consistently. If the perception is created that the Charter is being applied selectively, then trust in the United Nations will wane and with it the moral authority that is the greatest and most unique quality of the Organization.

The United Nations has been highly successful in the field of peace-keeping. The Organization has also responded flexibly to new demands in that field. Singapore has contributed to several United Nations peace-keeping operations. We have also paid our peace-keeping dues in full and on time. We regret that, at a moment when the Organization is being asked to undertake increasing responsibilities in peace-keeping, it is not being provided with the necessary resources. Whether it is contributions to the peace-keeping budget or the regular budget, all Members must pay their dues in full and on time. We support the Secretary-General's proposals to set up a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund and a peace endowment fund. Such funds will provide the quick financial start-up needed to launch a peace-keeping operation. These funds, however, should be provided on a voluntary basis.

As the Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization,

> "The simple reason for the deplorable financial situation of the United Nations remains the fact that a number of Member States do not meet their obligations". (A/47/1, para. 47)

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

The financial crisis not only affects the ability of the United Nations to function in the longer term; it also affects the Organization's ability to respond swiftly to crisis situations. In our view, the key to resolving the financial crisis lies in devising an enforceable system of penalties for late payment or non-payment following a specified grace period. There is great merit in the Secretary-General's proposal to charge interest on the amount of assessed contribution that are not paid in full and on time.*

Post-conflict peace-building is fundamentally a form of preventive diplomacy. This is extremely important in an era when the causes of insecurity are increasingly social, economic, environmental and humanitarian in nature. The role of the United Nations in Cambodia in the field of de-mining, refugee repatriation and rehabilitation is a successful example of post-conflict peace-building. We support in principle the Secretary-General's idea of post-conflict peace-building. We also fully endorse his agenda for development as outlined in his report on the work of the Organization. In our view, there can be no agenda for peace if there is no agenda for development.

"An Agenda for Peace" devotes great importance to the role of regional organizations. We agree with the Secretary-General that consultations between the United Nations and regional organizations could do much to build international consensus on resolving particular problems. This, in our view, should be carried out in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter. At their summit meeting, held in Singapore in January 1992, the leaders of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) pledged to

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* Mr. Kalpagé (Sri Lanka), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

participate actively in efforts to ensure that the United Nations is a key instrument for maintaining international peace and security. The ASEAN summit meeting also stated that ASEAN would encourage all efforts to strengthen the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping and peacemaking.

Finally, the debate today is the start of a process. We are pleased that the process has begun. We would like to see this process continue so that there can be effective follow-up actions and decisions. This is an issue of fundamental importance to the entire membership, and should be fully considered by the General Assembly. My delegation therefore supports the proposal made by several other delegations to set up an ad hoc working group of the General Assembly closely to discuss and study "An Agenda for Peace". Singapore would participate actively in such a group. We would also like the Security Council and other relevant bodies, such as the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, to continue their study of the report from the point of view of their respective mandates. The inputs of the Security Council and other relevant bodies are essential if the United Nations is to enhance its system-wide capacity for preventive diplomancy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building.

Mr. WISNUMURTI (Indonesia): Allow me to begin by conveying, on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Indonesian delegation, our deepest sympathy and condolences to the Government and the people of Egypt on the loss of lives and the destruction caused by the earthquake that struck Egypt a few days ago.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the non-aligned countries. The Tenth Summit Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Jakarta last month, reiterated that, in the light of changing international relations, the United

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Nations provides an appropriate framework for effective cooperation and democratic dialogue among States. In this context, the Jakarta Summit Meeting believed that in order to attain international peace and security, a restructuring of the United Nations mechanisms, as well as an appropriate balance among its various bodies, in conformity with their respective mandates under the Charter, were necessary to reflect the new realities of the international situation.

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It was against this backdrop that the Non-Aligned Movement welcomed the Secretary-General's report entitled "An agenda for peace" as a timely contribution in the strengthening of the role of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security, especially at a time when the demands for an enhanced role are now greater than at any time in the past. It contains an integrated programme of proposals for dealing with ongoing and future conflicts, as well as post-conflict measures, and it calls for the introduction of new and wide-ranging procedures and mechanisms with far-reaching ramifications that merit our close and careful examination.

The Movement has also welcomed the ongoing endeavours to reform and improve certain structures and procedures of the United Nations as an essential component in the strengthening of multilateralism. We have always insisted that this multilateral Organization should be based on equality, equity and transparency, in representation as well as in the processes of decision making. Hence the United Nations and its principal organs should periodically undergo a process of review and revitalization in order to ensure its dynamic adaptation to the evolving realities of international life so that it can continue to play an effective role as the focal point for the management of the critical issues of our time.

The non-aligned countries have therefore resolved to play a constructive role in the revitalization, restructuring and democratization of the United Nations system. For this purpose, the Jakarta Summit has established a high-level working group to elaborate concrete proposals for the restructuring of the United Nations.

In this regard, the tenth Summit called for an enhanced role for the General Assembly as a forum for deliberation, negotiation and decision-making

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on all issues of global concern. In our view this is fully consistent with the obligation of all States to abide by the principle of sovereign equality and the right to participate in the promotion of the collective interests of the global community.

The non-aligned countries therefore welcomed the Secretary-General's observation that

> "Democracy within the family of nations ... requires the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States ... in the work of the Organization." (A/47/277, para. 82)

We also share his view that all organs of the United Nations should play their appropriate role and that the General Assembly, like the Security Council and the Secretary-General, also has an important role under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The non-aligned countries welcomed the unanimous decisions taken by the Security Council on some of the most complex and critical issues. We have thus witnessed a refreshing transition from a paralysed Council to an organ that has become increasingly effective in resolving a number of conflict situations. However, the Movement is concerned at the tendency of some States to dominate the Council, the exercise of special powers, its unrepresentative character, the lack of transparency in its decision-making processes and the selective application of its decisions. In this connection, the Movement reaffirms that all States, large or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, have the right to sovereign equality and warns against world affairs being run by a small group of powerful nations.

We therefore believe it is time to address the issue of the size, composition and functioning of the Security Council. Its membership should

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be increased to reflect the increased membership of the Organization, which has now grown to 179 countries. The Council should be expanded to accommodate new Members, which, if they are not given veto power, should at least serve as permanent members. This category of States should join the Council on the basis of a combination of relevant criteria that more faithfully reflect the demographic factors, political realities and economic imperatives. We further believe it may also be pertinent for the manner in which the veto power is at present exercised to be subject to a constructive review.

With regard to the functions of the Secretary-General, the non-aligned countries support a more active role in monitoring and in bringing potentially dangerous situations to the attention of the Security Council in the framework of Article 99 of the Charter. We believe that the Secretary-General should be provided with an improved capacity for gathering accurate, timely and unbiased information as well as resources commensurate with his tasks, which have vastly expanded as a result of recent world events. Furthermore the Secretary-General's mandate should be enlarged to enable him to take the necessary initiatives for preventive diplomacy and enhancement of the efficacy of United Nations peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building operations.

The principles enshrined in the Charter and generally recognized norms of inter-State relations must at all times be scrupulously observed. The international community must ensure strict adherence to the immutable principles of sovereignty and non-interference, which should not be diluted or abridged under any pretext. Regrettably, however, the Non-Aligned Movement has noted with deepening concern the tendency to intervene under the pretext of protecting human rights or preventing conflicts and thereby erode the sovereignty and integrity of States. The non-aligned countries are therefore

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determined to defend full respect for national sovereignty as well as the right of all States to choose their own political and social systems and policies of economic development. The Movement therefore endorses the Secretary-General's view that the foundation-stone of United Nations work must remain the State and that respect for sovereignty and integrity constitutes an indispensable component of our collective endeavours.

With regard to a number of other proposals contained in the report, let me comment briefly on some of them.

In the area of preventive diplomacy, the Secretary-General should be given wider powers inter alia in fact-finding, mediation and conciliation. For this purpose, the Secretary-General should be equipped with greater capacity for gathering information. In this context, the recent establishment of the Office of Research and Collection of Information is to be welcomed as it has the potential to be developed into an effective early-warning system. However, the list of situations that may constitute a threat to peace alluded to under the heading "Early warning" may be susceptible to differing interpretations and consequently infringe on the sovereignty and independence of Member States.

The report suggests that the time has come to consider the idea of the preventive deployment of troops for the ostensible purpose of removing hostilities between neighbouring countries or deterring conflicts. While this proposal also reflects innovative ideas and is seemingly practical in nature, it should nevertheless be closely scrutinized and its feasibility carefully examined. Is it really possible to determine a set of criteria for the Security Council to reach the conclusion that preventive deployment could remove hostilities or deter conflict? Will the preventive deployment of

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United Nations troops on the territory of one party to a dispute really deter cross-border attack, or, to the contrary, will it provoke suspicions and hostilities that will aggravate the situation even further? Because of its wide-ranging implications, the idea of preventive deployment certainly warrants our careful study.

Peace-keeping operations, one of the most successful endeavours of the United Nations, have developed into a major instrument for conflict control and de-escalation. To date, the Organization has launched about 18 such operations engaged in a wide range of tasks. In this regard the Secretary-General has proposed inter alia the availability of military personnel, a reserve stock of peace-keeping equipment and supplies, training, assurances of necessary logistical and technological support, as well as dependable financing. The non-aligned countries will endeavour to extend full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General to continually enhance the efficacy of peace-keeping operations, in which many non-aligned countries have served and will no doubt continue to serve.

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Peace-keeping activities, however vital, can only be a palliative if not made to serve as a prelude to or accommodate negotiations towards a comprehensive settlement. As we are all aware, this is the role of peacemaking, which is an indispensable corollary to peace-keeping and includes mediation, conciliation and good offices. In this regard, the General Assembly, as the universal forum, should consider and recommend appropriate action so as to bring greater influence to bear in prompting or mitigating potential conflict situations.

Although the role of the United Nations in peacemaking and peace-keeping will remain vital, the report rightly draws our attention to another equally vital activity of the Organization, that of post-conflict peace-building. It calls for a multitude of actions and programmes to consolidate peace. The report identifies a number of measures such as disarming former adversaries and restoring order, repatriating refugees, monitoring elections and protecting human rights. It may also take the form of cooperation and effort between two or more countries to build the necessary infrastructures. As the report put it succinctly:

"Preventive diplomacy is to avoid a crisis; post-conflict peace-building is to prevent a recurrence." (A/47/277, para. 57)

The non-aligned countries welcome the importance accorded to peace-building for lasting peace and justice in the world through a wide and ever-expanding array of fields.

The proposal of "peace enforcement units" as one of the provisional measures envisaged in Article 40 of the Charter requires further study, as it goes against the traditional principles and practices of peace-keeping, which is the maintenance of cease-fires, the consent of the parties concerned to

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accept peacemaking forces on their territories and the non-use of force except in self-defence, and impartiality.

The non-aligned countries have serious misgivings about the use of force. While it is consistent with the relevant provisions of the Charter, as an Organization committed to fostering peace and security the United Nations should exhaust the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter prior to invoking collective enforcement action, which should be done only as a last resort, with the approval of the General Assembly. We also consider that calling for special agreements to set up a United Nations standing armed force pursuant to Article 43 of the Charter is premature.

One of the major approaches to the maintenance of international peace and security identified in the Secretary-General's report is the role of regional organizations. While the need to strengthen their role in resolving particular security concerns and in contributing to viable and cohesive structures of economic and social development is clear, it is also clear that regional associations are uniquely placed to propose solutions to local conflicts.

We also recognize that in many regions permanent institutions have been created to promote the reduction of tension and the pacific settlement of disputes. Over the years, they have contributed to the lessening of tension and strengthened regional security. In addition to the adoption of certain arms-limitation measures, various modalities of cooperation have been established, as well as regional and sub-regional instruments of economic, social and cultural cooperation that contribute to the building of confidence and hence of international security. Regional cooperation on security issues will also foster mutual restraint in armament programmes, thus preventing or moderating arms races whose sources are regional.

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Yet resort to regionalism has not diminished the need for an effective global framework for collective security within the context of the Charter. It is clear that regional efforts can only supplement and not supplant the United Nations in meeting its global responsibilities. Consequently, what is called for is a thorough exploration of possible mechanisms and procedures that would strengthen interaction between the United Nations and various regional organizations in enhancing regional security arrangements. We fully concur with the Secretary-General's views that regional action will not only contribute to the decentralization, delegation and cooperation with United Nations efforts but also to the democratization of international relations.

As to the Secretary-General's report of the work of the Organization, he laudably underscores the emerging reality that peace and security depend as much on socio-economic factors as on military ones. Underdevelopment and poverty strike at the very root of political stability and socio-economic well-being. Development and the war on poverty are therefore vitally linked to security. So too, as stated in the Secretary-General's report, political stability is needed to develop effective economic policies.

For year the predominant preoccupations of the developing countries and peoples were focused on the struggle for independence and freedom together with the need to de-escalate bipolar confrontation. The cold war that permeated international relations for many decades, holding them captive, also marginalized the development imperatives of the three-fourths of humankind that populate the developing countries. The demise of colonization and, more recently, the end of the cold war have yielded in greater freedoms and obviously enhanced global security. But such freedoms are empty and such security unstable in the absence of socio-economic development. Therefore, if

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our quest for sustained freedom, stable peace and lasting security is to be successful, then the international community must vigorously strive to put economic growth and sustainable development back at the top of the global agenda.

Having said that, the Non-Aligned Movement is pleased to note from "An Agenda for Peace" that the promotion of sustainable economic and social development for wider prosperity was included as an important means of reaching what the Agenda has called the "pervasive and deep" sources of conflict and war (A/47/277, para. 5). While the Secretary-General did not address these issues per se in "An Agenda for Peace", he made them central to the dominant theme in his report on the work of the Organization. This we greatly welcome.

At Jakarta in early September, the Non-Aligned Movement Summit called for an increased commitment to development, the eradication of poverty and the democratization of international relations. We are therefore gratified that the Secretary-General has called for a global partnership for development as well as an agenda for development. We cannot agree more with him that these objectives can be promoted only through a stronger United Nations. Hence, to enhance the capacity of the United Nations to promote sustained development, there is a need to revitalize and restructure the Economic and Social Council so as to enable it to perform the functions originally envisaged by the Charter. Moreover, there should be a more balanced relationship between the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

In this connection, we welcome the many useful changes already made as well as the proposals and initiatives put forward for restructuring and

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revitalizing the economic and social fields. In doing so, we would like to reiterate our basic position that decisions for such change should be based on the principles and guidelines incorporated in General Assembly resolution 45/264 and should uphold the democratic principles that underpin the decision-making process of the United Nations. We also share the Secretary-General's suggestion that the Council introduce a flexible, high-level inter-sessional mechanism to facilitate a timely response to evolving socio-economic realities. The need for greater inter-agency cooperation cannot be denied. This also includes a closer and improved relationship between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions. Given the United Nations macro-economic policy coordinating role, there is a dire need for closer cooperation and coordination with these multilateral finance and trade institutions.

Before concluding, I should like to stress that if an emerging agenda for development is not given the same urgency and prominence by the United Nations as that given to "An Agenda for Peace", it is very unlikely that the development imperatives of the South will garner sufficient attention and support from the North to give concrete substance to the proposed partnership for development. Rather, that admirable initiative would become merely another dead letter.

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Finally, the Non-Aligned Movement fully supports the proposal that the General Assembly establish a working group that would be entrusted with the primary task of making an in-depth study of the recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace". It would, furthermore, be timely and pertinent for the working group to address some of the basic issues that have been raised by delegations in the course of the present debate. It is important to ensure, however, that our deliberations focus on the report in its entirety because of the interrelatedness of issues and the integrated approach adopted by the Secretary-General. We are hopeful that the period of time between now and the next session of the General Assembly will be purposefully spent and that an informed and objective discussion will contribute to promoting our common objective of a revitalized United Nations.

Mr. KHOUINI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): My delegation has already had the opportunity to convey its deepest condolences to the delegation of Egypt and its heartfelt sympathy following the natural disaster that struck the Cairo area. At this time I should like to express again to the Egyptian delegation my feelings of fraternity and solidarity in connection with that very painful occurrence.

My delegation is pleased that the General Assembly has been given this opportunity to have an exchange of views on agenda item 10 and on the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace".

The initiative taken to hold this discussion was timely and auspicious. It was timely because this is the right moment to reflect on the current and future role of our Organization in the changing international context in which we live, and it was auspicious because the General Assembly, by dint of its universal nature, is the right forum to take a stand on the way in which the

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United Nations must henceforth shoulder its responsibilities in keeping with the Charter that governs its actions.

Considerable changes have taken place in the world recently. The assessment of those changes made during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly has confirmed this. It is therefore quite natural that the United Nations, which is supposed to reflect the state of the world, should also rethink its working methods in order to respond to the requirements of the new realities. Those realities are themselves in a state of full-blown mutation and evolution, and in this critical transitional stage we must, more than ever before, pool our efforts and act together to give those changes the direction we want them to take, a direction that, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter, will make it possible to promote international peace and security, to encourage social progress and to establish better standards of life in larger freedom. The prospects for such an endeavour are promising when we consider how far we have come since the disappearance of bipolarity and ideological struggles, which until recently still fuelled conflicts and tension the world over.

The advent of a new era is undoubtedly conducive to peace, security and the defence of human rights. The settlement, or the beginnings of settlement, of some age-old and complex conflicts that have long held the attention of the international community is to the credit of this new era and is a source of satisfaction.

None the less, other serious conflicts persist. Peoples are still awaiting recognition of their basic right to self-determination and the exercise of their fundamental freedoms. New conflicts have appeared.

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Emerging precisely in the post-cold-war period, they are caused by ethnic conflict, intolerance and religious extremism, grave humanitarian situations, massive violations of human rights and the rights of peoples, deterioration of the environment, and social and economic injustices. These are all challenges to which the international community does not yet seem to have found an appropriate response.

It seems to us that it is in the framework of a reinvigorated and respected United Nations, guided by the immutable principles of the Charter, that the international community will have to work together to find the desired responses.

The reduction of the risk of generalized conflict, which in itself brings us joy, should not lead us to neglect local or regional conflicts and should not divert us from our main objective: the establishment of a more just, more prosperous and more equitable world.

The report of the Secretary-General that we are considering today injects a timely dose of hope into the mixed feelings of satisfaction and concern the international situation arouses in us. For it affirms precisely that a revitalized and respected United Nations can and must play a central role in the establishment of a better world, the world that was initially envisaged by the drafters of the Charter. Tunisia, deeply attached to the principles of the Charter and to international legality, cannot but be delighted at that reaffirmation of the central role of the United Nations.

Allow me, on this occasion, to pay a well-deserved tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the new drive he has introduced into the working methods of the United Nations, and at the same time to assure him of Tunisia's full and wholehearted cooperation in the accomplishment of his important tasks. May I also congratulate him on behalf

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of my delegation on the calibre of the report "An Agenda for Peace", which he prepared in response to the request the Security Council made at its summit meeting. The ideas and proposals contained in the report constitute an irreplaceable basis for work.

One of the main innovations of the report is the promotion of preventive diplomacy, which Tunisia supports enthusiastically. We do so with all the more conviction since one of the pillars of Tunisia's own diplomacy is precisely the preventive approach. In Tunisia this approach has proved its effectiveness on many occasions, especially at the regional level, where we have always and consistently advocated dialogue and agreement, good offices and discreet mediation in order to reduce tension and limit conflicts.

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The success of any preventive action undeniably depends on the degree of confidence established with and between the parties to a conflict. In order to ensure the success of this new preventive approach, it is important that the United Nations - through its impartiality and objectivity, and through strict implementation of the principles of the Charter - be the body that inspires confidence, affirms the law and advocates justice - in fact, the body that commands general agreement. Only thus will the Organization be able to rally everyone to cooperate, gather from Governments all the information necessary for its work of conciliation and prevention, and ensure the success of its fact-finding missions and special envoys charged with gathering opposing points of view and finding ways to prevent conflagrations. It is in this way that operations such as early warning, preventive deployment or the creation of demilitarized zones, whose delicate nature is obvious, could be conducted with a chance of success.

The United Nations is made up of sovereign Member States, and it is with these Member States that it must first and foremost deal.

My delegation noted with interest that the report of the Secretary-General offers a broadened definition of the concept of security. It tells us in substance that security cannot be viewed solely from a military perspective. Other sources of instability, in the economic, social, humanitarian and environmental fields, also constitute threats to peace and security. The economic and social imbalances in the world are not conducive to peace. Democratic principles, respect for human rights and preservation of the environment cannot be fully achieved in a climate of economic and social insecurity, which is itself a source of political instability.

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We expect of the United Nations system equal attention and concrete measures to promote integral development, a prerequisite for the establishment of international peace and security. It is in this spirit that we view the integrated approach advocated in this respect.

With a view to democratizing international life, the Secretary-General proposes that regional organizations be involved in the activities of the United Nations. Giving new impetus and real content to the relationship between the United Nations and those organizations would undoubtedly be mutually advantageous and help the United Nations better to understand conflicts that have already been examined, or are being examined, at the regional level. Such strengthened cooperation would be even more useful since the principles that govern the regional organizations are the same as those in the Charter.

Sharing the same concerns as the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, for example, has already studied the establishment of a conflict-prevention mechanism, with a view to reducing tensions and avoiding the outbreak of conflicts.

While emphasizing that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security must remain with the United Nations, and that there is no question of our Organization's not considering any conflict that might be deemed of minor importance, because of its location or the importance of the interests at stake, Tunisia, a member of five regional organizations, is delighted with the Secretary-General's proposal to involve these bodies increasingly in the work of the United Nations.

The Secretary-General's proposals in connection with peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building deserve special attention, because this aspect of United Nations activities is vital. Both the Security Council and

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the General Assembly, whose functions in this field are conferred by the Charter, should make full use of the provisions of Chapter VI to promote measures for the pacific settlement of disputes. We believe that recourse to Chapter VII action should be envisaged only as a last resort, when all other means have been exhausted.

There should be more frequent use of the International Court of Justice by Member States, as well as by the Secretary-General for advisory opinions, with the consent of the parties to a dispute.

We firmly support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the Security Council should give due consideration to the difficulties, especially the economic difficulties, that Member States may encounter because of the imposition of sanctions on a third State, under Article 41 of the Charter. States should not be penalized because of their strict implementation of Security Council decisions.

If there is one United Nations activity of which our Organization may be proud it is its peace-keeping operations. As their title indicates, the forces assigned to these operations serve a noble cause, consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter. They risk risk their lives, in the field, to safeguard the peace.

Tunisia, which has a long tradition of participation in these operations, and which has contingents at this very moment serving under the United Nations flag, supports the idea put forward by some delegations that a monument be built to the memory of the 800 persons killed in the service of the Organization and of the cause of peace. This would be a matter of justice.

The growing demand for the "blue helmets" is further proof, if it were needed, of the effectiveness of the peace-keeping operations, just as it shows

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the will of the United Nations to shoulder its responsibility in concrete terms. It is none the less highly desirable that such operations have the prior consent of the parties concerned; departing from the principle followed thus far might mean seeing the forces exposed to harassment, provocation and even attack, with the risk, in the event of retaliation, of changing the operations' nature from that of their primary mission.

What we are talking about is peace-keeping operations and not the peace-enforcement operations suggested to us by the Secretary-General, which we feel should be viewed, if need be, in the framework of Article 42 of the Charter.

As regards the financing of peace-keeping operations, we cannot fail to share the Secretary-General's concerns about the growing disparity between needs and available financial resources. In order to increase his ability to organize such operations, the Secretary-General must have the necessary political support as well as sufficient resources. The Secretary-General makes a number of proposals for increasing these resources, proposals that undoubtedly deserve thorough consideration. In the meantime, assessments based on the present scale should be paid without delay, in order not to harm the operations themselves.

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Like other delegations, and especially that of Indonesia in its capacity as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, my delegation wishes today to contribute to the debate by making some observations and comments on certain aspects of the Secretary-General's report. It is understood, however, that this exhaustive report, which affects the current and future role of our Organization, requires detailed study in an appropriate framework - which might be an open-ended working group under the General Assembly.

The various organs of the United Nations certainly are fully competent to study, each in its own sphere of activity, the different aspects of the report submitted to them in the framework of their own agendas. It is none the less a fact that "An Agenda for Peace" is part of a global vision of the world and of the international Organization. The working group whose establishment has been suggested must have the same global vision. My delegation is prepared to cooperate fully in this respect.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): A few days ago we heard about the earthquake in Egypt. Please allow me to extend our deep sympathy to the victims.

The Chinese delegation welcomes this opportunity to discuss in the General Assembly the important report "An Agenda for Peace", submitted by the Secretary-General at the request of the summit meeting of the Security Council held in January this year. We have noted with great interest that in his report the Secretary-General has put forward many important and thought-provoking recommendations and suggestions that merit thorough consideration. The Chinese delegation appreciates and attaches importance to

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the efforts made by the Secretary-General in this regard. We are ready to work with other delegations, in close cooperation with the Secretary-General, to carry out an in-depth study of this report with a view to strengthening further the capacity of the United Nations in preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping within the framework of the Charter, thus enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations.

The world today is going through a historical phase of profound change. The old pattern, featuring mainly bipolar confrontation, has come to an end and the world is now moving towards multipolarity. While it is possible to strive for a peaceful international environment and avoid the outbreak of a new world war for a relatively long period of time in the future, the present international situation remains turbulent. Hegemonism and power politics continue to be the main obstacles to peace and development. In many regions ethnic conflicts and territorial disputes have become more acute, resulting in the frequent occurrence of armed conflicts. The gap between the North and the South is widening further. The world is still not peaceful and the road to peace and development that is before the people of the world is filled with obstacles.

The turbulent and complicated international situation has made the establishment of the new world order an urgent task of our time. Based on historical experience and reality, we are of the view that an equitable and rational new world order of peace and stability, including a new international economic order of equality and mutual benefit, should be established on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. People of all

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countries should have the right to choose, in accordance with their specific situation, their social system and a road to development suited to their national conditions. All countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, should participate in world affairs as equal members of the international community. The differences and disputes between States should be resolved peacefully through consultations, guided by the United Nations Charter and the norms of international law, and the use or threat of force should be rejected. Such practices as hegemonism, power politics and the monopolization and manipulation of international affairs by a few countries are doomed to failure.

In recent years the United Nations has had outstanding and fruitful achievements in its efforts to maintain world peace and security by solving regional conflicts. Meanwhile, changes in the international situation have posed grave challenges to the United Nations. People of the world have high expectations of our Organization and how the United Nations will handle world affairs in the new situation in a more active, balanced, fair and effective manner, so as to promote world peace and development and play its due role in the establishment of an equitable and rational new world order, has become a major issue of universal concern.

As a permanent member of the Security Council China has always supported the positive efforts of the United Nations to maintain world peace and stability, promote global development and settle international disputes. At the same time, we believe that all the activities carried out by the United

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Nations in preventive diplomacy, in peacemaking and peace-keeping must always be guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter, as well as those established principles that have proved to be effective over the years.

Respect for State sovereignty and non-interference in Member States' internal affairs are the fundamental principles of the Charter. In his report the Secretary-General rightly points out that:

> "The United Nations is a gathering of sovereign States" (A/47/277, para. 2)

and that

> "The foundation-stone of this work is and must remain the State. Respect for its fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress." (A/47/277, para. 17)

The Chinese delegation agrees entirely with the foregoing remarks of the Secretary-General and highly appreciates his statement at the tenth Non-aligned Summit Conference that the sovereignty of nations is an untouchable principle and that, under Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, the United Nations shall never intervene in the domestic affairs of a Member State, either in the guise of preventive diplomacy or for a humanitarian aim.

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In the present world situation it is all the more necessary that these principles be reaffirmed and emphasized. The United Nations will go astray if they are violated or deviated from. It is our view that, whether in preventive diplomacy or in peacemaking efforts, whether in peace-keeping operations or in post-conflict peace-building activities, the United Nations should at all times and in all circumstances strictly observe the principles of respect for the sovereignty of States and of non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States.

Hence the Organization must act at the request of the countries concerned or obtain the prior consent and cooperation of all the relevant parties. Only if this is done can the role of the United Nations in peace-keeping activities be effectively strengthened in the right direction. Only if this is done can the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations enjoy the full trust, support and cooperation of peoples of all countries. Only if this is done can various difficulties in the way of achieving positive results be removed.

The settlement of international disputes by peaceful means is another important principle for which the United Nations Charter provides. China has always held that the settlement of all international disputes through dialogue and negotiation should be actively advocated, and the use or threat of force opposed. In today's world there are many regional conflicts and disputes between States. We feel that, however complicated these disputes and conflicts may be, the parties concerned should not resort to force to resolve them. We feel that the fundamental way out of such problems is to be found in political and diplomatic solutions.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

We appreciate the constructive efforts that the United Nations has made in recent years to defuse regional conflicts and to secure the peacful resolution of disputes. We believe that the United Nations, as an international organization whose aim is to achieve world peace and cooperation, should insist that all international disputes be resolved by peaceful means and should oppose the use or threat of force.

So long as there is a glimmer of hope, the efforts to secure peaceful solutions should not be abandoned. Only in this way can enduring peace and stability be won, international peace and security genuinely and effectively maintained, and the basic spirit of the United Nations Charter truly upheld.

We disapprove of over-emphasis on United Nations military intervention, nor do we approve of the abuse of mandatory measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. Experience shows that such action is not only unhelpful in the settlement of problems but also harmful to the credibility of the United Nations. We endorse the statement in the Secretary-General's report that the United Nations should strive to use all the ways and means provided for in Chapter VI of the Charter, which deals with the peaceful settlement of disputes.

For the maintenance of international peace and security all principal organs of the United Nations should discharge their functions in accordance with the Charter and should play their unique and indispensable roles in a balanced and harmonious manner, with coordination and cooperation. As the organ of the United Nations with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council, before taking any major action or making any important decision, should listen to a broad range

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

of the opinions of Member States and should adopt any reasonable proposition or suggestion.

Resolutions of the Security Council ought to reflect the common will of the international community; they should not serve the interests of just a few big Powers. We share the Secretary-General's view that this Organization's work requires the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States, big and small. We have consistently held that every country - big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor - has a right to participate on an equal footing in the discussions aimed at settling the major issues with which the United Nations is concerned. We oppose the notion that a few big, strong or rich countries should be able to monopolize or manipulate the affairs of the United Nations.

The Chinese delegation supports the case for giving the General Assembly a more active and effective role in safeguarding world peace and security. As the General Assembly is a universal forum with the widest representation, its capacity to consider and recommend appropriate action in this regard must be recognized.

The Chinese delegation takes a positive view of the Secretary-General's unremitting and constructive efforts in rendering his good offices for the purpose of mediation in the case of regional conflicts or disputes. We fully support him in playing his due role in accordance with Article 99 of the Charter and in discharging the mandate entrusted to him by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

We share the Secretary-General's view that the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively. We endorse his view that

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

regional organizations should assume more responsibility for the resolution of regional conflicts, in keeping with Chapter VIII of the Charter. In recent years increased United Nations sanctions have caused some difficulties and economic losses in some countries, especially third-world countries. This question must be addressed urgently and appropriately in accordance with Article 50 of the Charter.

We welcome the Secretary-General's recommendation that the Security Council formulate measures to secure appropriate solutions to problems faced by countries. Peace and development are inseparable and equally important. Without peace, there will be no development; without development, peace will not endure. We share the Secretary-General's view that the United Nations should not only be committed to the resolution of regional disputes, but should also regard social and economic development as a matter of priority. But questions in the political, economic and social fields should be deliberated upon and resolved by the various organs of the United Nations in accordance with their respective functions as provided for in the Charter.

The steady increase in the number of United Nations peace-keeping operations and the daily expansion of the scope of the Organization's tasks have put an unprecedented strain on its human, financial and material resources. Decisions about how to cope with this new situation will have a direct bearing on the future of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. In this respect, the Secretary-General has made quite a number of useful recommendations.

The Chinese delegation believes that if the effectiveness of the peace-keeping operations is to be further enhanced we must not only continue

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

to adhere to the principles and practices that over the years have proved to be effective but also carefully take into account the circumstances and capacity of the United Nations and act accordingly. Before any peace-keeping operation is launched it is advisable that the circumstances of the case be examined with a view to making an appropriate assessment of the feasibility of the operation and of the Organization's capacity to sustain it.

In the meantime, a stable and sound financial basis is one of the prerequisites for the success of peace-keeping operations. We believe that the fundamental way to deal with the inadequacy of the fund for United Nations peace-keeping operations is to have a situation in which all Member States would faithfully meet their obligation under the Charter to make their assessed contributions unconditionally, in full and on time.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

In this regard China has conscientiously fulfilled its obligations. We call upon other countries, particularly those with huge arrears, to pay off their arrears as soon as possible. This will be an effective support for United Nations peace-keeping undertakings. Furthermore, we also agree that a diversified way of financing should be considered.

The Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace", with its wide-ranging and detailed subjects not only relates to the various organs of the United Nations but also closely concerns the interests of all Member States. We support the General Assembly, the Security Council and other relevant organs in carrying out, in various forms, an in-depth, comprehensive and adequate study of this report. The Chinese delegation will take an active part in this process. We are confident that through serious joint consideration of the report by all Member States there will surely be a far-reaching and meaningful impact on enhancing the United Nations peace-keeping capability in the new situation.

Mrs. AGGREY-ORLEANS (Ghana): The Ghana delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General most sincerely for the opportunity he has provided to the General Assembly through his two reports - "An Agenda for Peace" and the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization - to contribute, in his own words, to the search for improved mechanisms and techniques which would improve the Organization's capacity to pursue and preserve peace and to deal comprehensively with the economic, social, environmental and political dimensions of human development. My delegation fully endorses the statement made by the representative of Indonesia on behalf of the non-aligned countries in this regard.

(Mrs. Aggrey-Orleans, Ghana)

My delegation has already had the occasion in another setting to extend to the Government and the people of Egypt the deep sympathy and condolences of the people and the Government of Ghana for the tragic loss of life and the extensive damage to property as a result of the earthquake which occurred in Cairo two days ago.

Ghana considers the debate on the two reports at this session of the General Assembly as the first step towards enhancing the capacity of our Organization to work towards the achievement of the purposes of the United Nations Charter. In our view, these two historic and inter-related reports, which indeed constitute a tribute to the vision of the Secretary-General, are too important to be dealt with in a few plenary meetings of the General Assembly, or through informal consultations at this session, or in any manner which reflects a fragmented approach. The reports deserve our most careful attention. It is for these reasons that the Ghana delegation firmly supports the proposal that an ad hoc working group should be set up by the General Assembly to examine, in depth, the ideas and proposals of the Secretary-General and submit its report, together with recommendations, to the General Assembly as soon possible, preferably at its forty-eighth session. We shall, therefore, limit our participation in the debate, at this stage, to the principles which we think should underpin our efforts at improvement.

Ghana has repeatedly stated that the end of the cold war should enable the United Nations to work towards the achievement of the purposes spelt out in Article 1 of the Charter. It is a regrettable comment on the performance of our Organization that so far the efforts to maintain international peace and security have been limited to measures envisaged under Chapters VI, VII, and to some extent, Chapter VIII of the Charter. Our Organization appears to

(Mrs. Aggrey-Orleans, Ghana)

have shown a less than full appreciation of the fact that even under Article 1 (1) of the Charter the United Nations is expected to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

It is true that new dimensions of insecurity - ethnic nationalism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and new racial tensions - have emerged. They must not however, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, "An Agenda for Peace", be allowed to obscure the continuing and devastating economic problems which constitute sources and consequences of conflicts.

Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building are indeed important areas for action which would contribute towards securing peace in the spirit of the Charter. We wish, however, to observe that an equally important area of action is the need for the United Nations, acting under Chapter IX of the Charter, particularly under Article 55, to create "conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations".

The cause of peace and security would be better served if the United Nations were to put in place measures that would promote international co-operation in order to minimize the possibilities of the emergence of situations which could produce conflicts. And if and when such situations arose, the parties would find it in their own interest to pursue their peaceful resolution.

An important principle which should underlie our efforts is the recognition of the unity of the purposes enunciated in Article 1. Peace is

(Mrs. Aggrey-Orleans, Ghana)

not the absence of war. Nor can it be imposed, let alone secured, through military might. For far too long the United Nations has conducted itself as if peace could be maintained without promoting the sustained and sustainable economic and social advancement of all peoples. Peace, friendly relations among nations, economic prosperity and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms which constitute the purposes of our Charter are indivisible and should be recognized as such, not only in words but also in deed.

Another basic principle in our efforts at enhancing the capacity of our Organization to secure peace is the need to democratize international relations. Ghana notes, with deep satisfaction, that the full application of the principles of democracy within the family of nations and within our Organization would be the central priority of the Secretary-General.

A valid observation of the Charter provisions is the distinction that is made between friendly and enemy States. I need not recall that the Charter is a document prepared by victorious allies to assure themselves against violations of peace by the others. The General Assembly, under Article 20 of the Charter, was conceived to meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion might require.

(Mrs. Aggrey-Orleans, Ghana)

Article 28, however, requires the Security Council to function continuously. It was therefore appropriate that under Article 24 the Members of the United Nations should confer on the Security Council primary repsonsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations.

In a situation where the threat to international peace and security was expected to emerge from the enemy States, it was logical that the power to take prompt and effective action should reside with the five permanent member States, and that Article 27, paragraph 3, was so formulated as to preclude any action that would not enjoy the support of each of these five permanent members of the Security Council, which, significantly, had led the Allies to victory in the Second World War - the war that gave birth to the Charter.

All that has now changed. What is more, we have all been very ready to recognize the change in international relations. There are no more enemy States within the meaning of Article 53. They have all qualified to be, and have become, Members of the Organization under Article 4 of the Charter. And, as the Secretary-General so aptly puts it,

> "the immense ideological barrier that for decades gave rise to distrust and hostility - and the terrible tools of destruction that were their inseparable companions - has collapsed". (A/47/277, para. 8)

In the light of this recognition, it is our view that military might or economic strength should no longer accord any Member State any special status or privileges.

As a first step towards the democratization of inter-State relations, the Organization should reaffirm the sovereign equality of all its Members as stated in Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Charter. We share the view of the

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Secretary-General that the foundation-stone of the work of the United Nations is, and must remain, the sovereign State. But sovereignty is neither absolute nor exclusive. Voluntary membership of an international organization that carries certain obligations is in itself an exercise of sovereignty. And sovereignty carries within itself the notion of equality. If that were not the case, the purpose of the Charter to make the United Nations a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations would be meaningless. The principle of sovereign equality of all Member States is a defence against the imposition of the will of one upon the other.

The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States is closely related to the principle of sovereign equality. It is, indeed, the practical manifestation of sovereign equality. For, at the conceptual level, interference can only stem from a sense of superiority, which carries within it the notion of inequality.

Recognition of these two principles would help the Organization to review its role in its dealings with Member States. We must neither condone nor connive at flagrant violations of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter for political expediency, even under the guise of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building, or in the name of humanitarian assistance. At all times, the consent of the particular State or States should be sought and obtained. The only situation that calls for an innovative approach is when and where such consent cannot be obtained because no identifiable government exists.

A legitimate agenda for peace should also recognize and promote the General Assembly as the forum for policy-formulation and coordination of the activities of the agencies, programmes and institutions of the United Nations

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system, as envisaged under Articles 57 and 58 of the Charter. The present arrangement whereby agencies, programmes and institutions sometimes act at variance with the guidelines and wishes of the General Assembly should be reviewed. We share the view of the Secretary-General that we must not miss the opportunity to develop the necessary international consensus and policy instruments and adapt the United Nations structures and interactions within the United Nations system to enable us to address comprehensively global problems in their political, humanitarian and socio-economic dimensions.

The democratization of international relations should be reflected in the composition of the Security Council, which should be representative of the universal character of the Organization. The permanent membership of the Council and its accompanying right of veto is not only anachronistic, but also undemocratic. Now that the General Assembly technically remains in session all year round, it should be the organ that takes decisions involving the use of force by the Organization.

Under Chapter VIII of the Charter, the Members of the Organization could enter into regional arrangements or constitute themselves into regional agencies to make every effort to achieve peaceful settlement of local disputes. In our view, such regional arrangements should not be directed at targets outside the region concerned. A review of the Organization's mechanisms and techniques should reaffirm that regional arrangements are intended to contribute to the peaceful resolution of disputes within the region.

Ghana believes that democracy prospers when law, instead of political expediency, rules. A principle that should therefore underpin our efforts is the affirmation that, as far as possible, Member States should seek resolution of disputes through international law - to be precise, through the

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International Court of Justice. The various measures proposed by the Secretary-General to reinforce the role of the International Court of Justice, therefore, deserve the most serious consideration. We endorse the view that the Secretary-General should be enabled and encouraged to seek the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on relevant issues.

The Ghana delegation will have the opportunity to share its views, in greater detail, on the proposals for financing the activities of the Organization. We should at this stage emphasize the need to act to secure the financial stability of the Organization. To this end, the United Nations should reaffirm the collective responsibility of Member States, as envisaged under Article 17, to bear the expenses of the Organization. Every Member State, whether a major or minor contributor, should endeavour to discharge its financial responsibility to the Organization. The new budgetary process launched by the Assembly's resolution 41/213, which, among other things, seeks to encourage consensus agreement on budgetary matters, should be retained. The Ghana delegation cannot, however, associate itself with any proposal that would, in its effect, set free those who have not been paying their assessed and other contributions and increase the burden of those who have faithfully discharged their obligations to the Organization.

The process which we have embarked upon as a result of the historic summit meeting of the Security Council may, in its objective of attaining improved capacity for the Organization, easily command the unqualified support of all of us. The process towards that objective may show up differences among Member States of the Organization. That process may require some Member States to give up, or share with the universal membership of the Organization, the advantages that they have had over a period of 47 years. Some of the

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proposals may come from countries such as mine, which, though its people participated in the Second World War, were not born into independent statehood at that time and consequently did not participate in the discussions that led to the formulation and adoption of the Charter. We wish to give an assurance that we do not seek to rob any Member State of any special privileges. Nor do we seek to negate or denigrate the positive contributions that various Member States have made in the course of the development of the Organization.*

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mrs. Aggrey-Orleans, Ghana)

We would participate in the work of the follow-up mechanism because we retain the strongest hope and faith in the United Nations as the only path to international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations, and the achievement of international co-operation to promote the economic and social advancement of all peoples - the very purposes of the founding fathers of our Organization. The days and months ahead will test to the utmost our commitment to those purposes.

AGENDA ITEM 93 (continued)

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: (a) QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION AND TO YOUTH, AGEING, DISABLED PERSONS AND THE FAMILY

COMMEMORATION TO MARK THE CONCLUSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE OF DISABLED PERSONS: DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.4)

The PRESIDENT: The next item on our agenda is sub-item (a) of agenda item 93, under which the General Assembly is holding the observance of the conclusion of the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons. The debate held on this occasion was concluded last night.

The Assembly will now proceed to consider the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.4 and entitled "International Day of Disabled Persons".

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/47/L.4.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/47/L.4?

Draft resolution A/47/L.4 was adopted (resolution 47/3).

The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the special commemoration in observance of the conclusion of the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.